

Anti-Semitism in the United States

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ONE of the chief causes of suffering and evil in the world today is race hatred, and any man who stimulates that hatred has much to answer for. When he does this by the circulation of unfounded and unjust charges and the arousing of mean and groundless fears, his fault is more to be condemned.

Since the Christian era, the Jews have greatly suffered from racial antipathies. Their history has been one long story of persecution, oppression and cruelty directed against them on account of their race. Sometimes the bitterness has been distinctly and purely religious, but more often it has been racial. Liberal Americans who appreciate the liberty and equality of opportunity that prevails in our civilization, and under the Constitution of the United States, have prided themselves that here at least there is no ban against the Jews, there is no Ghetto, there is no pale within which they are required to live, there is not the slightest attempt in the law to differentiate between Jews and other residents of the United States, and all the privileges and all the equality of opportunity of any citizen are theirs. That at times social prejudice is encountered by them is to be expected in a country with as many different currents in society as our great amalgamation has; but in no country in the world does the Jew enjoy more perfect equality of opportunity, more certain reward for the many virtues that he has, or greater and more unquestioned liberty than here. Nor is this equality of treatment confined to the law alone. Neither in business nor in professional circles is there any factional effort to hamper or obstruct his progress and success. This has been in great contrast to his actual status in some European countries, where while he is theoretically equal to others before the law, there are constant organized efforts to limit his activities, and to prevent his progress. In

such countries there is a distinctly anti-Semitic party, which breaks forth in an attack upon the Jews and uses the press and other publications to foster a hatred and obstruction to their pursuit of their legitimate aims.

Only recently has there appeared in this country an elaborate attack upon the Jews and a studied effort to create an anti-Semitic feeling and movement in the United States. This is greatly to be deplored. When I first heard of it, I was inclined to think the wise course was to ignore it, and that in a short time it would die, for lack of interest and support. I thought that answer and refutation would dignify it, advertise it and serve the purpose of its projector, and I am not sure that this is not still the correct view. But you who know better have come to the conclusion that the matter is of sufficiently serious import to call for discussion and answer. I feel strongly the evil character of the attack, and I do not hesitate to condemn it and give my reasons for so doing.

THE attack is made in a series of articles in the Dearborn Independent. This is the paper which Mr. Henry Ford, the successful manufacturer of the Ford automobile, has founded for the avowed purpose of expressing his views without fear or favor. With the statement that the press is held in subjection by the power of the Jews, the author of the articles seeks to put Mr. Ford on a pedestal of courage and independence in initiating the attack. How much of the article is due to Mr. Ford's initiative, and how much he has yielded to the representations of others in consenting to its publication, one cannot say. But, of course, he is responsible for the effect of them. I have read the articles and the documents called the Protocols, upon which they purport to be based, and after an analysis of them, I find it difficult to discuss them with patience.

The articles are written in an easy flowing style and are deftly composed of a mixture of historical fact and unfounded and unjust generalizations. At times in them is a pretense of fairness and generous concessions to the Jews,

with a constant repetition running through them of the meanest incitements to prejudice against the whole race. The writer professes not to be engaged in stirring up an anti-Semitic feeling when what he writes reeks with it. All that he says is directed to sustaining a definite indictment of conspiracy in which he ultimately involves the whole Jewish race. He acquits most of them of guilty knowledge of the ultimate design at present, but he represents their ambitions, their abilities and skill, their unity and power and their other characteristics, to be such that when those now privy to the chief and ultimate purpose shall disclose it, all will conform to it and become willing participants in the grand and wicked design.

When we analyze the attack, when we consider the charges free from the interweaving of mere appeals to prejudice, when we look into the accusing generalizations without supporting evidence, when we dissect the historical facts out of the mass of gratuitous assumptions, and limit those facts to their true and fair significance, when we look into the only documentary proof relied on, when we consider the naked skeleton of the indictment and contemplate the conditions it foreshadows as a possible and probable historical development, it becomes a presentment utterly unworthy of credence.

WHAT is the charge? It is that there is an inner council of a few leading Jews in the world, who control the money of the world, engaged in a plot, the execution of which may take decades or a century for its consummation to destroy the governments of the world by the disintegrating power of Bolshevism which they are fostering, and then by the all-controlling power of the purse and the playing of one class against another, ultimately to subject to the will of this inner Judaic council the whole world, enabling it to appoint a King of Israel who shall then, as an absolute dictator, carry on the world under his super-government. The purpose of the articles is to give proof of the truth of these charges and to arouse the American people to this

imminent danger. This, the articles announce to be the Jewish Question which they are to force to discussion in the United States. No remedy for this conspiracy is proposed of a legal character, no organization is suggested, no definite plan of resistance to the march of this plot, but it is intimated that if the American people have proper warnings through these and other articles of the same tenor, this Jewish political conquest of the world and the governmental absolutism of Israel may be averted.

As already said, the author of the articles is not so foolish as to charge that all Jews, or even those of intelligence, wealth and standing, are privy to this great plot and its purpose. What he first sets out to do is to establish the present enormous power of the Jews over the finance of the world, and their ability through the bond of international unity between them to control the policies of nations, to compel war or peace, to direct the working of economic forces in them, and, if need be, to form and stimulate anarchy and a destruction of government. His argument then is that the small council or sanhedrin of the Inner Circle of International Jews can and will disclose their ultimate political purpose at the appropriate time, and through the essential unity of the Jewish Race and its will to power, it can command allegiance of all Jews, and especially those who have these great powers and thus carry on the conspiracy to the declared end.

The author rejects as having any real effect the economic laws which the history of nations has developed into a science. Adam Smith, John Stewart Mill, Ricardo, Sumner and other great names in the field of political economy and finance, have no terrors for him. He says, "People have lost all confidence that economic conditions are responsible for all the changes that occur. Under the camouflage of 'economic law' a great many phenomena have been accounted for which were not due to any law whatever except the law of selfish human will as operated by a few men, who have the purpose and the power to work on a wide scale with nations as their vassals."

Again he says, "Apparently in the world today is a central financial force playing a vast and closely organized game with the world for its table and universal control for its stakes." He says that "The great masters, the few who see clearly the entire play of the plan, control numerous banking houses and trust companies," that one is used for this and another for that, that there is no disharmony and no competition, but that there is as much unity between the principal banking houses of every country as there is between the various branches of the United States Post Office, and for the same reason, namely, they are all operated from the same source and for the same purpose. He charges this central financial force in its heartlessness of capital with breaking up proper relationship between employers and employees by refusing to allow the former to make just concession to the latter. He repeats and adopts the charge made in Germany that this central financial force controls governments, can make war, can make peace, can command anarchy, can restore order, that it holds the sinews of world power in its hand and apportions them among the nations in such a way as will best support its plans.

No instances of the exercise of this world controlling power is cited as proof. The conclusion of the author rests on his own assertion and the further comprehensive and entirely satisfying assurance that everybody knows it. One might have made such an unsustained generalization with some hope of securing the credence of gullible people before this great war but he is bold indeed who ventures it now. Was it the International Bankers and capitalists that brought on Germany's declaration of war? Was it the International Bankers and capitalists that drove Great Britain to the defense of Belgium? Was it these world controllers that led Italy into the struggle? What had they to do with Austria's ultimatum to Servia? What influence had they in the action of the Tsar in defense of Servia? Does the author of the articles intend us to believe that these International Bankers agreed upon the war, and with a common purpose of control directed one Nation against another, and all

through their power over National credits? Could absurdity reach a greater height? What could these bankers promise to any one of these powers in the matter of their loans? Their bonds must be taken primarily by their own people and without this source they could not finance their wars. The amount of foreign loans negotiated through international bankers in this war was insignificant in the beginning and was nothing in the end. When one thinks of the mighty forces of national, race and dynastic origin and ambition that brought on this great calaclysm, he may well laugh at the suggestion that behind them all was this scheming circle of International Bankers. Yet all this is one of the necessary premises of the conclusion which the author seeks to establish.

THE minor premise of the writer of these articles is that the small group of International Bankers and capitalists who control the economic destinies and political fate of the world are Jews. He ventures back in the history of that remarkable race to show how this power developed in their hands and here he uses a modicum of fact. It is true that the cruel limitations put upon the activities of the Jews in the eighteen centuries of persecution forced them out of production on the land into trade and commerce and exchange. The very dispersion to which they were subjected, and the inhospitable reception they were accorded everywhere kept them in deep sympathy with one another and made world trade between them natural and easy, and the world hardly knows the debt it owes to them for this incalculable benefit. Ordinary precaution against the robbery and blackmail to which they were constantly subjected led them to deal not in lands which they could not hold, but in articles of value and small in bulk. This made them custodians of gold and so bankers. With the keen intellects there were among them, and the genius of patience and application, the science of trade and banking grew under their hands and it is true, as the author says, there were in Medieval times

Monarchs who depended much on Jewish bankers to aid them in their loans. To say that even then they controlled Kings is a figure of speech and not a fact. And now the Jews do not control all international banking houses. The Gentiles are equally active. There is competition between Jewish houses. The transfer of gold or its equivalent from one Nation to another is not the result of the will of one banker or another. It is the calculation of profit on the particular transaction that prompts it and the profit depends on the extent of the demand for it in one country as compared with that in another. The difference in the demand for gold in one country and that in another is due to the internal business conditions in each country as compared with those in another. The money or gold in the currents of exchange does not represent a tithe of the capital and wealth in use in each country. The wealth of the country is not in its money, or its gold; it is in its farms, its factories, its mines, and the products it is capable of bringing to market and sale. All the gold in the world is but a small fraction of the wealth of the world, and a very large part of that is not in the hands of International Bankers, but is in the treasuries of Governments or under their control. Never so little as now would arbitrary control of International exchanges, even if it could exist, as it does not, carry with it the control of the business and political affairs of the world. Was it international bankers who have sent the British pound sterling to a discount of 33 1/3 as compared with our dollar? Was it international bankers who have sent the German mark from a par of 25 cents to an exchange value of a cent and a half? Was it not economic law which brought this about? Resistance by any banker or set of bankers, however powerful, to such an inevitable result of economic conditions would break them.

THE writer of these articles further seeks to bolster his premise that Jews are the world controllers of finance and so of politics, by describing their business suc-

cesses in the United States. That the Jews are successful merchants and bankers is of course true. That they are keen in business with excellent judgment, and with never ending patience and application, everyone knows. In proportion to their number, their business success is noteworthy. The same is true of them in the professions and in every field into which their tastes and adaptability may take them. That they are friendly to one another in business as in other relations is also true, and why should they not be? The bond of a common suffering in their history, and an ever threatening hostile prejudice is likely to produce such a feeling. But it is not true that they do not compete with each other. They are too much business men for this. It is said they are ambitious and have the will to power and that this has led them to be prime movers in the great trusts of the country. This is not true. There are Jews in the trusts, as are other keen business men, but it will be found that those who led the way were Gentiles. There are branches of business in which they are numerous and influential, and the history of these would disclose what has often been the purely arbitrary circumstances which attracted them. They are prominent in the business of the theater, the opera, and music generally. So they should be. They are artistic, they are histrionic, they are naturally lovers of music. But for the patronage and support of the Jews we should not be able to have the theater, the opera, or the symphony concerts. But what of all this in the matter of world control?

In the effort of the author to connect the Jews with the management of Trusts and the control of broad fields of business he gives no names; he only makes assertions and as if to anticipate a demonstration that Gentiles control the industry by reference to the names of directors, he makes reply that it is a common thing for Jews to use Gentiles in the management of their business to present a "Gentile front," as he calls it. He is thus determined to put the Jew in control whether he seems to be there or not. The assertion that the Jew, with his will to power and the love

of displaying it, which he attributes to him, should hide his light under a bushel in this way is only one of constant inconsistencies with which the earnest, careful reader is confronted in this tissue of broad and unsupported generalizations.

The author of these articles refers to the facts that the Jews in this country have increased in number within the last forty years from less than 500,000 to now 2,500,000 or 3,000,000. That this presents some question by reason of their concentrating in the City of New York, and their indisposition to go to the farm and to the smaller towns, need not be disputed; but it is also true that they present far less difficulty in the matter of taking care of themselves and in becoming a charge upon the community than other immigrants. The fact is that they were driven here by the outrages committed upon them in Russia, in Poland and in Roumania, and one of the reasons why John Hay urged that the United States had the right to interest itself in the treatment of these poor people by those heartless governments was that they drove them to the United States as a refuge and increased the burden of the United States in caring for them. They are gradually, through the agency of our public schools and through the equal opportunity that this country offers, fitting themselves to better and better citizenship, and in the small percentage they represent of our entire population they need give no cause for concern, such as the author of these articles would like to arouse.

THE next basis for the premise is that Jews control the world through the Press. What does this mean? Does it mean that the Jews own all the newspapers of wide circulation and influence? The author mentions three newspapers in Germany which are owned by Jews. Does that control Europe or even Germany? He could not mention many more than that owned by Jews in the United States. What, then, does he mean? He says that through fear of Jewish power to give and withhold advertising, the

press is muzzled as to the Jews. Here we come to a broad distinction by utterly and unjustly ignoring which, the author seeks grossly to exaggerate the power and effort of the Jews to secure affirmative control of affairs, by confusing it with their power and effort to protect their people against abuse of their rights. They naturally resent insult and contumely heaped upon Jews because they are Jews and they are fully justified in seeking in every lawful way to prevent its recurrence. If by reason of their power to control the distribution of their advertising or by exercise of discretion in their business patronage they can restrain such outrage upon the feelings of their race and the stimulation of prejudice, they are entirely right in using it. It is probably true that a wholesome fear of the loss of Jewish patronage does prevent some of the Press from giving a vent to the expression of race prejudice and stirring up anti-Semitism. If so, I am glad of the restraint. The same thing is true in respect to the venting of prejudices against other members of our community, and it should be a source of satisfaction rather than complaint. But it is said our Jews control our politics by their solidarity. This is not true. They are Republicans and Democrats and they contend as vigorously for their respective parties as other citizens. In a case where a wrong against Jews in any part of the world needs righting, the broad sympathy of the American people can be easily aroused and this Jews have done. They it was who secured so wide a public demand for the abrogation of the Treaty with Russia. They it is with their brethren in Europe who have succeeded in securing a provision in the Treaty of Versailles prescribing the equality of right to be secured to Jews in Poland. This is cited by the Editor of the Dearborn Independent as a vicious instance of Jewish World Control. Why should not these nations at Versailles when they were delivering to the Poles a freedom won by the sacrifice of millions of lives and mountains of treasure, exact from them a pledge that the Jews should be free from oppression and be given an equal opportunity to

give their children education and to pursue their own livelihood and happiness? Nor is the criticism such that the provision was humiliating to Poland in its specific provisions and in the reservation in the Treaty that the Great Powers may enforce it. The experience of the Congress of Berlin with the solemn guaranty of Roumania on this subject and her breach of faith are still freshly in our minds. The abuses to which the Jews had been subjected in Poland gave good ground for additional safeguards. This is not a seeking of affirmative control of affairs by Jews. It is only another instance of an effort of the Jews to protect those of their own race against further outrageous persecution; and we wish all civilization should aid them. I can not too often refer to the sympathy which one Jew has for another in distress, especially when it arises from racial hatred or prejudice. It is a trait which, instead of being made a ground for attack upon the Jews, should commend them highly to their fellow man. It is not inconsistent with their duty to their country; it is not inconsistent with their duty to their fellow man. The author of the articles continually refers to the Jewish question. The Jewish question is not one calling for protection against the Jews as the writer of the Dearborn Independent articles would make it.

THE real and great Jewish question is how more than half these Jewish people should be rescued from outrage, massacre and all sorts of injustice, as well as penury and starvation brought about by government discrimination and prompted by bitter race prejudice. This question has roused Jews the world over and they have nobly responded. It has led to great organizations which have been unceasing in their efforts to aid their fellow Jews in all of Middle and Eastern Europe, where they have suffered so much. It is this which has developed Zionism and while men and Jews differ as to the exact goal ultimately to be reached in this movement, all concur in seeking the refuge it is hoped it will afford the Jews of Eastern

Europe from their present awful state. Yet it is these organizations upon which the author of these articles would base his charge against the Jews of seeking world power.

If it be true that the international bankers and capitalists are Jews alone; if it be true that they wield a world power to control governments and nations and wars and peace and economic law, can the author of these articles in the Dearborn Independent explain why it is that now more than half the 13,000,000 Jews in the world are still suffering not only persecution and oppression, but the bitterest penury and starvation? Why is it that if this omnipotence belongs to the Jews, half of them are in the direst misery? One needs to cite no specific facts to refute the preposterous assumptions of this learned writer in the Dearborn Independent because the general facts which refute his every statement can be seen by a wayfaring man, though a fool.

THE author of the articles refers to Germany as a place where the Jewish question, so-called, has been prominent, and in which the danger from the Jews and their activities has been demonstrated. The arguments of the anti-Semitic party are, of course, rehearsed, and the prominence of individual Jews in the government which succeeded the Empire is pointed out and made the basis for the assumption that these Jews are engaged in promoting the power of all Jews and lending themselves to this ultimate Jewish despotism. The author, of course, does not stop to note how natural it is for Jews to be prominent in the new popular government of Germany. The bitter anti-Semitism in Germany had driven the great body of Jews into the opposition to the government, into socialism of the various phases of which Germany is full. The Jew is naturally quick and able and political and his leadership is accepted by the less intelligent and less constructive members of his party, and therefore it is not surprising that among the leaders of these parties are Jews. They appear in support of their party as might be expected

and show no common Jewish purpose but only the individual aims and natural leadership that acute intelligence and practical knowledge would give.

On the whole, therefore, there is nothing in the assertions by the author of these articles in respect to the Jews that contain any facts justifying an inference beyond the natural and commendable desire of Jews to get on in the world, to acquire money and comfort and education for their children and standing and influence in the community. Thus the case of the author of these articles fails here. Even if there were a secret council of Jews planning to use the accumulated influence and wealth and power of the Jews to conquer the world and to establish an Israelitish absolutism under a Jewish sovereign, he has shown no such power in the Jews now or in the future which could accomplish such a task, or any likelihood that the Jews of the civilized countries of the world would for one moment join in such a conspiracy.

But we must go on with the author to his attempt to establish the last link in his chain of charges in the indictment, and that is the existence of a secret council of Jews who are now deliberately plotting to destroy the governments of the world by anarchy and bolshevism and to erect on the world's ruins an Hebraic autocracy by the power of the purse. He proposes to find this in the so-called protocols of the Wise Men of Zion.

WHAT are these protocols? They purport to be oral explanations of a Jew to disciples or listeners, of the plot by the inner wise men to establish a Jewish despotism and absolute monarchy under a King of Israel over the world. The bald and shocking and brutal details of the plan as they are justified and explained create on their face a serious doubt that anyone would avow them to a group of disciples, however depraved he or they might be. They are drawn without exculpatory phrases and are made as bald and as revolting as possible and are much better adapted to stirring bitterness and indignation against the

author of the protocols than they are to the enlightenment and inspiration of disciples and followers whose cooperation he seeks to instruct and secure.

He begins with the announcement that more men are vicious and wicked than are noble and that we must make that the basis of our practical policy. He says that honesty and fairness are, in view of that policy, vices, and that hypocrisy and cunning are the only virtues which should be practiced. He then discloses his plan. He assumes, as does the author of the Dearborn Independent, that the Jews have all the money of the world under their control and that money enables them to control nations and wars and peace. He refutes the idea that economic laws ultimately prevail throughout the world and assumes, as does the editor of the Dearborn Independent, that the Jews with money are able to reverse these laws and create arbitrary results, as if they were not only absolute rulers of the government but absolute controllers of demand and supply, of prices and of wages. With this absolute power over everything that goes to affect the comfort and happiness of the world through the Jewish control of money, he adds the control through other Jews of mobs and the forces of disintegration. He asserts that they control the press of the world and that through the press they are to play upon the feelings of the proletariat and to create a wide antagonism between it and the more intelligent and wealthier classes, so that society is to be broken up and the governments of the world under the Gentile rule are to be weakened until they are really overthrown. This inner circle is to stimulate proletarian distinctiveness by first increasing wages of the workmen and then increasing prices. They are hurrying the world on to a great war, and in the war territorial changes are not to be affected, but the changes are to be financial only. After the disintegration of governments in which the lives of many Jews are to be sacrificed for the purpose of carrying out the plot, the ultimate object is to be achieved; and one of the seed of King David is to be trained to become the universal sovereign of the

world. The character of the judges of the Civil service and of many details of the government under this descendant of King David are set out at great length together with a plan of taxation. A police system and a method of maintaining absolute government without the show of force and a system of espionage in which one-third of the people are set to watch the other two-thirds are gravely described.

I have read and reread these protocols and the impression they have made on me is that they are the work of one who wishes to hold up to scorn and hatred and condemnation the race in whose behalf they purport to be written. They are drafted by one who had watched, with a cynical eye, the workings of popular government, and who paints in the most lurid colors the defects of democracy when it degenerates into mob rule. The writer was evidently a profound believer in absolutism and seeks here to vindicate its useful possibilities in every sentence, but in attempting to give a practical coloring to the conspiracy, for which he is seeking to make the Jewish council responsible, his assumptions of the power to do the things he describes in pursuance of the ultimate object are grotesque and ridiculous and should make a reasonably intelligent man who reads them impatient.

But how is our author of the Dearborn Independent articles affected by these Baron Munchausen tales of accomplishment or proposed accomplishments? Of course, they accord with his assumptions that the international Jewish bankers control the purse of the world and therefore control the economic phenomena and suspend the operation of economic laws. What is absurd to everyone else cannot, of course, be absurd to him in view of the fact that he makes the same assumptions. But his chief reason for deeming these protocols a real emanation from a Jewish Sanhedrin sitting somewhere in the world to plot the subjection of the world, is in their anticipation of what has since happened in the great war. Let us examine and see how wonderful these are. These protocols are supposed to have been framed about 1905 during the Russian-Japanese

war, and they anticipate a world war. Such a prophecy was not unknown at that day, nor was it unreasonable to expect it in view of the conflicting interests of the great powers and the enormous armaments they were preparing. Secondly, he points with eagerness to the plan to increase the price of wages and raise the hopes of the laboring people, then to increase the price of living in order to dash those hopes and arouse indignation at the authorities and cause revolt and disorder as a remarkable identification of the plan with what has happened during and since the war. To his mind, it apparently indicates that these things were due to the working of the Sanhedrin and not due to natural causes, and thus he would prove the genuineness and solid importance of the document as a basis of proof of the conspiracy. This phenomenon of a rise in wages and an accompanying rise in prices is only the natural course in economic law. If wages go up, prices must go up. One is a natural concomitant of the other. It has happened in every war, and it needed no prophet to come and tell us so. Then he finds in the cry of the Socialists and Bolsheviks there shall be no territorial changes by the war—a proof that they were working under the inspiration and will of the Inner Circle of the Jews of the Protocol. This is certainly a far cry to identification.

BUT the chief reason for assuming that the developments of this war reveal the genuineness of the Protocols and the plot the Inner Circle is working out, is the fact that there are some Jews in the leadership of Bolshevism in Russia. Here we have in fine relief the iterated and reiterated assumption that if there be a single Jew in a movement, it is complete evidence of his control of that movement and of his control of that movement for distinctly Jewish purposes. According to such records as I have had access to, and the conclusions of Mr. John Spargo, who has devoted himself to a close following of the Bolshevik movement in Russia, the statement that Jews control it is entirely unwarranted. There are Jews in the Bol-

shevist Cabinet, there are Jews in some important offices, but there are Jews who lead the opposing party of Menshiviki, the moderate socialists, and there are Jews who are prominent in the Cadet movement, a third party of constitutionalists. In a country where Jews were subjected to such bitter cruelty and oppression as in Russia, it is no wonder that they become anarchists and socialists, and took part in the plans for assassination and were made martyrs to the cause of freedom and resistance to tyranny. When the revolution arrived, some became extremists and Bolsheviks, others moderate socialists and others conservative democrats or republicans, and divided just as other opponents of absolutism did. More than this, Bolshevism is spread by a propaganda of terrorism, and if one would escape imprisonment and suffering, it is wise for him to embrace Bolshevism for the nonce, and this is what former conservatives and Cadets and Menshiviki have done and doubtless among them are Jews. The Bolshevik Jews were no more responsible for Bolshevism than the others engaged in it. Lenine is not a Jew, but Trotzky is, and the facts seem to show that the Jews among the commissions in actual power and control are in a decided minority. But whether they are or not is not important in the consideration of the issue which the Dearborn Independent insists upon making, and that is that Bolshevism is only part of the plot of the Inner Sanhedrin of Jews to disintegrate governments in order to secure the despotism of the Inner Council. In this view it is essential to establish that Trotzky and his fellow Jews who are Bolsheviks are Bolsheviks in order to establish the autocracy of Judaism the world over. There is not the slightest evidence that they have any such purpose, or that they are under the control of any inner circle of Jews. Not a single fact is pointed out to indicate that they are acting under somebody else's direction or that they have an ultimate object of Judaism. They are engaged in the attack upon all religion. They flout it.

Does the author of these articles not find enough in the

history of Russia and abuses of the autocracy to explain the Revolution and the subsequent phases of it without tracing it to the will of the Sanhedrin of the Wise Men of Zion? In what way was that will manifested? How was it made effective? Really is it not more reasonable to recognize the movement to anarchy and then to proletariat autocracy as due to the violence of the reaction against Tsarism and its abuses than to attribute it to the machinations of an invisible Sanhedrin? Why look for causes in the sky when they are just before us? The reasoning which would make the fact that Jews are some of their leaders among the Bolsheviki proof of the genuineness of the Protocols and a step in carrying out the conspiracy therein projected, is as faulty as that which convicted innocent women of being witches in the seventeenth century.

WHAT is the asserted origin of these protocols? They are produced by one Sergus Nilus, a man who was a religious fanatic of the Russian Church, and whose whole nature was absorbed in the identification of the church with the autocracy in Russia and whose religion was the maintenance of the divine authority of the Tsar. He was a mystic, and he was contending against those forces which would destroy the autocracy of the Tsar as the anti-Christ. Some had regarded Free Masonry as the anti-Christ because there were politics in the Masonic lodges directed against the dynasty. Others like Nilus attributed to Jews the character of anti-Christ. He said he obtained the protocols from a man who had received them from a woman in Asiatic Russia, who had obtained them in secrecy, and that is all that is known about them. They are not signed; they are not even given the title "The Wise Men of Zion." This was given them after their publication. Nilus was a dreamer and fanatic. He could himself have conceived in his dreams of such a wild scheme and impossible plot and could publish it for the purpose of arousing indignation against the Jews and justifying the policy of cruelty toward them pursued by the Russian Tsar. The article is

calculated to arouse indignation not alone against the Jews but against every movement to unseat the Tsar and his power. It is written in a contemptuous scorn of popular government. The protocols were written by a man who had studied the defects of democracy and who struggled to emphasize them by attributing to this pseudo wise man of Zion the purpose to use demoralization of mob rule to achieve autocracy of the Jews. That these protocols might have fooled the Russians was possible, but that they should be honestly taken up by an American citizen, with ordinary intelligence, and offered as a basis for insisting that there is a Jewish question among us that needs solution, is hard to credit. The course of reasoning by which Ignatius Donnelly and others have established that Bacon wrote Shakespeare by the internal evidence of Shakespeare's plays is a monument of logic as compared with these. The Tales of Baron Munchausen are the only things in literature that should be classed with these protocols, for they are not more preposterous. It is appropriate that the author of these Dearborn Independent articles should refer with a show of learning to the fact that there were Princes of the House of Israel who continued to exercise titular authority into the Middle Ages among the Jews, and should suggest that the descendant of such exilarche may now be in the keeping of this Sanhedrin and ready to be brought out and proclaimed the King of Israel when the situation shall be ripe.

I HAVE thus considered the substance of the indictment of the Jews by the Editor of the Dearborn Independent, and the evidence, or lack of it, upon which he bases it. I have not gone into a discussion of the Jew as a man, or the Jew as a citizen. In an address delivered before the National Geographical Society I attempted to trace the history of the Jew, and to show the effect upon him and his people of the cruel treatment to which he had been subjected for eighteen centuries. I pointed out the remarkable qualities of the race and the wonderful abil-

ities in many lines that they had shown. Wherever they have been given an equal chance, the best of them, quite out of proportion to their number, have forged to the front and became leaders in the fields of their activities, and prominent in the countries of which they have become citizens. It is charged that they cannot become genuine and sincere citizens of any country because they are themselves a nation in dispersion, and that to that nation they owe their first allegiance. I differ entirely with this view, and it has been refuted by the conduct of the Jews in many countries. It is true they retain an allegiance to their race and to their faith and why shouldn't they? We would not value them if they did not do so. They have a great history to look back to, a great ancestry, and well may they be proud of it. But while they are proud of being Jews, while most of them adhere to the ancient faith, what inconsistency is there in that with their being good citizens of the country in which they are born and live? How does it detract from their patriotism? In what way does it interfere with their allegiance to this government when that allegiance calls for service and sacrifice? They did their part in this great war as Frenchmen, as Englishmen, as Americans. Those of them who made the ultimate sacrifice were in full proportion to their number either as citizens or as soldiers. The exclusiveness with which they have been charged is in proportion to the prejudice exhibited against them and their fellows in any community. It is a measure of protection. As discrimination against them ceases, as equal opportunity makes itself felt among them, as the rewards for their genius and patience and application come, the differences between them and other people disappear. They become ingrained Americans with us. Their genius, their industry, their skill, their tenacity of purpose, their enterprise make for the prosperity of the community and the country, and there is no good object in which they are not willing to do their part. In politics, they do not act as a body. They have their acute differences of opinion as other people have. There are good men and bad men

among them, and their good men condemn their bad men with the same emphasis that good men of other religions and races among us do theirs.

There is not the slightest ground for anti-Semitism among us. It is a vicious plant. It is a noxious weed that should be cut out. It has no place in free America, and the men who seek to introduce it should be condemned by public opinion.

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The Anti-Defamation League was organized by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith in 1913 to prevent and abate the defamation of the Jew and ultimately to put an end to unfair discrimination against all citizens of our land.

The following Jewish organizations are officially represented on the Governing Board of the League: The Central Conference of American Rabbis, The Council of Jewish Women, The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Zionist Organization.